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NICHOLAS HORSFALL

VIRGIL, *AENEID* 3



# VIRGIL, *AENEID* 3

A COMMENTARY

BY

NICHOLAS HORSFALL



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marriage, 52ff. for slave *contubernium*); union further expressed by the ABBA word order. Note V's use of polypt. in expressing relationships: Wills(213) compares 1.684, 5.569, 9.327, 11.294. Wagner collected many passages where *et/-que* connect two words which could stand comfortably without it, but as here gain (vd. Page) a certain weight from its presence (*QV* xxxiv, §2): so 5.447f. *ipse grauis grauitertque .../ concidit*, 12.305 *Alsum pastorem primaque acie per tela ruentem*, 7.706f. *magnum/ agmen agens Clausus magnique ipse agminis instar*, etc.. Cf. also n. on 11.673 *praecipites pariterque ruunt*. **F.** used by Enn., Acc., Lucr., Cat.; V. has *serua* twice, *seruus* never and much prefers **f.**: lofty, poetic, imported (sensed as Oscan), not specially common in inscr. and thus clearly with less of a whiff of the quotidian. Cf. Jachmann, *TLL* 6.1.266.13ff.

**transmisit habendam** The predic. use of the gerundive thus markedly prosy: in Aug. poetry, cf. *Ov.Pont.*3.1.49, LHS, 372. Hector's widow reacts with complete indifference; her loyalty and affections remain unswervingly with Hector: paradoxically, perhaps, a great *univira*. Cf. West, 261. *Erili uoluntate non lege coniugii*, Serv.. *Habere* can indeed be understood sexually (Adams, *LSV*, 187), but does not have to be here; though Bulhart doggedly classifies this passage s.v. keeping a servant, *TLL* 6.3.2399.8, it belongs as much at 2408.56ff., along with 9.594 *germanam nuper thalamo sociatus habebat*. She was *kept* as a concubine.

**330 ast** Cf. nn. on 7.308, 395: weighty and archaic.

**illum .../ 332 excipit** S.v. *per insidias capere*, Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.1254.70; cf. *Buc.*3.18, *Aen.*10.387, *Cels.*1 praef.43 *gladiatorem in harena uel militem in acie uel uiatorem a latronibus exceptum*, *EV* 1, 654. Not distinctively of hunting (so, many edd., at least from la Cerda). A prodigious hyperbaton in honour of the dramatic moment in which Orestes at last eliminates the odious Pyrrhus, of whom TCD pungently remarks (1.312.6f.) *natura malus, aetatis ratione deterior, condicione fortunae intolerabilis*.

**ereptae .../ 331 coniugis** So at 2.413, 7.388 (where vd. n. for 'proleptic' use). *EV* 4, 401 unsatisfactory; vd. Brandt, *TLL* 5.2.791.78.

**magno ... amore** So too 1.171, 344, 675, 4.395, 5.5, 9.197: a standard expression one would not wish to dismiss as 'stock' or 'formulaic'.

**flammatus** The vb. in Cat.64(291), Lucr.(1.73, 2.672), Cic.*de cons.* fr.2.1, 21, 45, Prop.4.4.77. At 1.50 V. has *flammato ... corde*; cf. too G.3.433 *flammanitia lumina*. Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.874.4ff. oddly ignores this passage entirely, though it is by a long way the earliest metaph. use. **Inflammatus M**, but the *simplex* is quite satisfactory.

**331 scelerum furiis** Cf. Cic.*Phil.*11.4 *quem ultae uidentur furiae debitorum*, Verr.2.5.114 *innocentium Poenas scelerumque Furias* (if that is what Cic.wrote), Pis.91 *o Poena et Furia sociorum*, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1614. 20f., 82f., *EV* 2, 621, *Companion*, 213, and, more amply, n. on 7.392. The phrasing is admirably polyvalent (as sensed already by Williams; cf. Lyne, *WP*, 28): Orestes is in some senses hounded by the Furies, as on the Roman stage (cf. 4.471, *Alambicco*, 105), with its love for extravagant special effects, after the manner of Accius' *Clytemnestra*, selected for revival at the baptism of Pompey's theatre (for his Furies, cf. Jocelyn, p.218f.). But these furies are also the torments of the mind or conscience (Henry cites 1.41, 10.68, 8.494, sufficiently; vd. n. on 7.392); their goads are not primarily physical; cf. in detail n. on 7.405, Lyne, *WP*, 28, M. Fernandelli, *Quad.Dip.Fil* .... Trieste NS1 (2002), 164ff..

**agitatus Orestes** The phrasing and ideas stayed with V.: 4.471 *Agamemnonius scaenis agitatus Orestes*, 12.668 *furiis agitatus amor*. *EV* 1, 56 confused. The vb. natural of Furies, whether personified or intellectualised; cf. Cic.*Sex.Rosc.*66, Hey, *TLL* 1.1331.12ff..

**332 incautum** Favourite Virgilian usage, *G.*4.488, *Aen.*1.350, 4.70, 10.386, 11.781 (with n.), etc., O. Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.851.29ff.(but as 'defenceless, cf. 1.350; cf. Wlosok, *RHRD*, 334, n.40). Here rather a symptom of the folly of prolonged success than the more usual anticipation of the victim's end. V. may have in mind Eur.*Andr.*1119 *κεντοῦς ἀτευχῇ παῖδ' Ἀχιλλέως λάθρα*; cf. Paschalis, 53. Henry well compares too Sall.*Cat.*28 *domi suae inparatum confodere*. Sychaeus' murder is then written up in a way that echoes Pyrrhus' death (1.348–51, Paschalis, *ib.*).

**patriasque ... ad aras** A problem at least since Serv., who cites a multitude of unhelpful failings and much speculation, helpfully disentangled in *EV* 3, 881f., 4, 122f.. Pyrrhus was after all killed in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, Robert, 2,3, 1459f., Frazer on [Apld.] *Epit.*6.14, V. Machaira, *LIMC* 7.1.74f., O. Touchefeu-Meynier, *ib.*, 6.1.774f., and the details passed into the lore of erudite tourism; they do vary a good deal in the circumstances, but the *ubicazione* does not. Here, though Delphi is not named, and we are not free to suppose V. has shifted the story (*pace* Robert, 1467). By not locating it, rather, V. facilitates the Trojan allusion. So in what sense then are these *arae* to be considered *patriae*? Part of the answer lies in the significant echo at 2.663 *natum* [Polites] *ante ora patris, patrem qui obtruncat ad aras*: either V. later revises the (earlier in order of composition) d. of Pyrrhus with

those of Priam and Polites in mind, or (more probably) here wittingly anticipates the planned, even sketched, Polites-scene: the Pindaric antecedent(*infra*) reinforces this account. Clearly, the death at Delphi is to be recognised as retribution for those at Troy. This causal link appears already to be present at Pindar, *Paean* 6.112ff. ὤ[μο]σε [γὰρ θε]ός./ γέ[ρον]θ ὅτι Πρίαμον/ π[ρ]ὸς ἐρκεῖον ἦναρε βωμὸν ἐ[π-/εν]θορόντα, μὴ νιν εὖφρον' ἐς οἴ[κ]ον/ μήτ' ἐπὶ γῆρας ἰξέ-/μεν βίου, a text known in Aug. Rome(Fraenkel, *Horace*, 401) and the story passed into Gk. proverbial language, Paus.4.17.4. We are as yet, though, little nearer the 'plain sense' of **patrias ... aras**. Part of the solution may lie in admitting a further sense of *patrius*, 'national'(illustrated at **297 patrio ... marito**; cf., here, Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1.762.43ff.) as well as (or indeed, rather than) 'ancestral' (note Serv.Dan. *ad Aen.*11.374): Pyrrhus had killed Priam at the most sacred spot of the city of Troy(cf. Austin on 2.506–58); Orestes kills Pyrrhus likewise at the altar—sc. of Apollo at Delphi—and Priam is avenged, alongside honour: Agamemnon's son, at the religious heart of Greece(cf. Heuzé, 147), kills Achilles' son and thereby assuages the pain of one of the worst outrages of the fall of Troy; the working out of the Greek-Trojan opposition becomes more complex with time (vd. **288, 295, 613**). The Greeks will suffer more through victory than the Trojans through defeat(Feeney, *Gods*, 143). Serv.'s story of Achilles killed in the temple of Thymbraean Apollo and Pyrrhus building an altar to his father in the precinct of Delphic Apollo, at which he is himself now killed looks rather too much like an elaboration to explain what was perceived to be V.'s sense here, *pace* Heyne, König. Cf. *Alambicco*, 45, n.98, Heyne, exc.xii to *Aen.*3, Paschalis, 52f., G. Annibaldis, *EV* 4, 122f., König, 74f. with nn.18, 21, Cartault, 246, n.3, Quint, 59f.=(1982–3), 33, S.C. Smith, *TAPA* 129 (1999), 251f.. See also Burkert, *Homo necans* (Eng.tr.), 119f..

**obtruncat** Cf. 55 ('a rare and markedly violent synonym for 'kill').

**333 morte Neoptolemi** Abl. either causal(Antoine, 189ff.), or perhaps of time, as used by V. with words not themselves of any temporal force; cf. **629**, 1.672 *tanto cardine rerum*, 4.502 *aut grauiora timet quam morte Sychaei*, Antoine, 232f.. Four lines of low-key elaboration of narrative details follow, perhaps calculated relief before the return to tragic heights in the (?)unfinished section, **337–43**.

**regnorum .../ 334 pars** Users of Cabanes(**292**) and of Hammond (**294–505**) will realise that 'Epirus' is a portmanteau term, within which may be distinguished Molossia, Chaonia, Thesprotia, etc.. Note 4.374

*regni demens in parte locaui*, but here no appalling anticipation of future tragedy may reasonably be sensed (contrast 314)..

**reddita cessit/ 334 ... Heleno** *Cedere* used in the common legal sense of 'pass by inheritance' (vd. n. on 297). **R.** 'pass as due'; cf. nn. on 7.134, 11.103, 594.

**334 qui .../ 335 ... dixit** The right of the king, or settler, or colonist to name; a frequent motif (cf. 18, 166 and Horsfall (1989), 18, with n.75).

**Chaonios ... campos** No plains in Epirus, worries Serv.Dan.; for the phrasing, cf. 400 **Sallentinus ... campos**. No doubt about the plain sense of V.'s text; Serv.Dan.'s King Campus might seem deserving of mirth and irreverence, for he adorns this personage with the orb and sceptre of erudition, the *Schwindelautoren* Alexarchus (*FGH* 829) and Aristonicus (of Tarentum, *FGH* 57F3 ('zweifelhaftes'), and vd. *FHG*, 4, 337; not Aristonicus 'of Alexandria', *Alambicco*, 41), more familiar from Ptol. Chennus. Omit Hyg.*Astr.* 2.34, who cites probably Aristomachus, from the discussion. However Serv.Dan. goes on to cite Varro (fr.384*GRF*), who knew the area intimately (cf. too his n. on 10.145). O'Hara (*TN*, 142f.) suspects a latent *metonomasia* from Campania to Chaonia (beguiled by Serv.Dan.'s next note); it is perhaps preferable to dismiss the two notes in Serv.Dan. as gloriously irrelevant to V., whose sense and language here are perspicuous.

**cognomine** 'Naming constructions as etymological signposts', O'Hara, *TN*, 75f. with n. 330, 18, 133, 210, 693, 7.3, 412, 671, 777, 11.246, 542f. with notes.

**335 Chaoniamque omnem** 'Modification involving triads of significant nouns and adjectives' (Wills, 288; cf. 241 for adj.-noun repetition), comparing 7.219f.. More closely, vd. 1.276f. *Romulus ... Romanos*, 5.121, 8.422 *Volcani ... Volcania*, O'Hara, *cit.* (previous n.).

**Troiano a Chaone** For Chaonia, cf. 292f.; of interest to Rhi-anus (fr.32Powell), Euphorion (fr.48Powell) and Lyc.(1046, 1320). Cf. König, 75; *EV* s.v. speculative. It is not clear how old the Trojan associations of Chaonia might be (Hammond, 412f., Biraschi, 286f., Moscatti Castelnovo, 418, n.6, 294-505, §a); the area flourished (Strab.7.7.5) both before and after the heyday of Molossia. But V. might here be repeating no more than a recent elaboration, even some Varronian notice conceived solely to give pleasure to a local Roman landowner. Hammond, 505 oversimplifies. The eponym may be an invention of

V.'s; promoted to being a brother or friend (n. on 334) of Helenus by Serv.Dan..

**336 Pergamaque** Cf. n. on 7.322; the citadel of Troy. For the Trojan names in Epirus and Varro's explicit interest, cf. 294–505, §a.

**Iliacamque ... hanc ... arcem** Interwoven order of the Trojan citadel (naturally called **Pergama**; note theme and variation) fitting snugly on the hilltop. With the order, cf. 4.429 (as *Buc.*8.60), 435 *extremam hanc oro ueniam*, 5.314 *Argolica hac galea*, 9.654f.. For the placing of the second *-que*, cf. Wills, 375.

**iugis ... addidit** Cf. 8.480 (settlement *iugis ... Etruscis*), *G.*2.161 *Lucrinouque addita claustra*, *Aen.*5.761 a *lucus ... sacer* added(*additus*) to Anch.'s *tumulus*, Prop.4.4.35 *montibus addita Roma*, Kempf, *TLL*1.581.41 ff.. Cf. too 6.774 *imponent montibus arces*.

**337 sed tibi ... cursum ... dedere** Cf. *G.*1.40 *da facilem cursum*, *Aen.*4.653, 10.870, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1678.69f.(for V.'s many phrases compounded with *dare*, cf. *EV* 2, 116). Contrast 460. Page rightly draws attention to the heavy emphasis placed on the pronoun, and its importance in the articulation of the speech.

**qui ... uenti, quae fata** The parallel questions, with repeated interrogatives(Wills, 85 ff.; note here the continuation, **quisnam ... quid**), neatly pose to the reader the challenge of three alternative explanations. Compare 395 **fata uiam inuenient, aderitque uocatus Apollo**, 4.440, 519, 651 *fata deusque*, 8.574f., 9.135 *sat fatis Venerique datum*, 12.677. Alternative, but not neatly opposed, and indeed capable of one smoothly harmonised all-embracing version, did one wish, given the multiple patterns of explanation present in V.(*Companion*, 138ff., Feeney, 180ff., Bailey, 217, 220ff., Pomathios, 337; for **fata**, cf. n. on 7.584, and n. on 7 *supra*). We recall that at 130 a wind helps the Trojans on a course apparently recommended by Apollo and his oracle (*fata*). V. is not a theologian and often shows no great love for order and system. Cf. Hardie, 90ff. for juxtaposed myth and science in V.'s image of the winds; we might compare 1.29 with 524. Here Andr.'s open phrasing invites Aen. to explain rather more fully, as indeed he now does once more to Dido. Note the comparable choices 6.532f. defective pilotage or divine admonition, 7.199, tempest or navigational error.

**338 aut quisnam ... deus Q.** only here in V.; *tacent* Cordier, *EV* ss.vv. *Hapax*, *Pronomi*, Axelson. 'Just which'(comedy and prose); the suf-